845 848 if this result is not attained, it is a proof that the child is really illegitimate and the midwife will force the woman to confess her guilt and the name of her lover. Should she have had many and hide the names of some of them "the womb will refuse" (khuri dji ta yala) and the birth will be possible only when the confession is complete.

848 787 Should an illegitimate child be born without this delay, he will come to the light with his hands closed and refuse to take the breast. This will give the midwife an opportunity of extorting a confession from the mother. These women practise a special kind of divination : they take a broken pot, put pumpkin seeds into it and place it on the fire. If the seeds, instead of burning to a cinder, explode with a noise, it is a proof that the woman is guilty. Each explosion means a lover, and all their names must be revealed. (Tobane.) This confession is strictly private. The midwives will consider it a professional duty not to divulge the secret to anyone, even the father. But the mother must confess, as it is absolutely necessary that the true father of a child be known on the day of its birth.

848 837 789 It is taboo for the lover of the woman to come to the door of the hut after the birth of the illegitimate child as long as the umbilical cord has not fallen off. The child would die. Even later on, should the mother be sitting on the threshold of the hut with the baby in her arms, and the man pass along the street in front of them, one of the midwives will go (has she not heard the confession ?) and take between her fingers a pinch of sand from the footprints of the lover, and, without a word, will throw it on the fontanella of the baby. If the husband happens to be present, he will know by witnessing this act that he is not the true father. I do not think he will be very angry. The child is his and, if it is a girl, nobody else will "eat the oxen!" For him this is the main consideration !

845 847 As regards the birth of twins, we shall study later on the strange customs which accompany it : in olden times one of the children was killed ; except in such a case, no child is ever put to death wilfully on the day of its birth.

3) The Gangisa.

832 836 882 When a boy has gone through the puberty rites, he is grown up and is allowed to practise the *gangisa*. This word comes from *ganga*, which means " to choose a lover." Each girl is asked by the boys to choose one of them ; they *make them choose* (gangisa, factitive derivative). I once observed some boys—they were still very young—flirting round three or four girls just like bees round ripe plums, running after them, and saying repeatedly : " Choose me! Choose me! " There is a special blue cotton print with a large white pattern which is called " gangisa ntombi " viz. to make a girl choose, as it is offered by the lover to the damsel of 836 his choice in order to obtain her favour. When a girl has made 848 684 her choice, her boy plays with her like husband and wife, first building little huts, etc. but later on in a less platonic fashion. In fact nothing is prohibited in the relations between young people [837] of the two sexes. A married woman is sacred amongst the Thongas, but an unmarried girl is not. However, she must not become pregnant. (1) If this happens, the parents will say to the lover : "You have spoiled our daughter, you must buy her in marriage." If he refuses, the child will belong to the family of the girl. Excesses in gangisa are condemned. A boy who commits them is said to be an adulterer (a ni bupse) ; of a girl they say : " She will lose her head (a ta ba singe). "

882 836 As the unmarried boys and girls live in special huts, the *lao* of the boys and the *nhanga* of the girls, at the entrance of the village, it is easy for them to meet during the night. During the day, they generally behave themselves becomingly. But when the lads pay visits to their girls, who sing to the accompaniment

(1) When a girl becomes pregnant, having had relations with her lover inside her parents' village, it is very serious; it is taboo. The boy will have to find a goat, to kill it during the night in the girl's kraal, and to rise very early; then both the boy and the girl, quite naked, must go round the village and sprinkle the fence from inside with a special decoction. None must come out of the huts to look at them. This will prevent the inhabitants from contracting the disease called mukuhlwane (cough, lung complaint) which would otherwise attack them. Moreover the guilty boy will have to pay a fine of £ 5 in [illegible] of the [illegible].

836 of rattles, they sometimes stay with them till late in the night.
832 They bring them small presents, articles of clothing or other things, and thus obtain permission to have intercourse with them. Mboza described to me a very immoral meeting which sometimes takes place in these huts in connection with the *milebe* habit, and which is connected with this gangisa. It is impossible to give the details here. (Annotatio 5.)[1]

836 The gangisa custom is, from our point of view, very immoral.
831 Amongst Natives it is not censured at all, and it would be more accurate to speak of *amorality* then of *immorality*, amongst them, on this particular point. A boy who has no such flirt, no *shigango*, is laughed at as a coward ; a girl who refuses to accept such advances is accused of being malformed. However Mboza told me he had never had a shigango himself and the abuse in this respect is not approved of by old people. In Manyisa, I heard of a young chief who was leading all the lads to gangisa and forcing the girls to accept them. The extent of this evil depends very much [644] on the character of the boys and girls. I may add that as regards the young people of the capital, they are not allowed to practise the gangisa because they belong to the royal family and are closely watched.

When they become Christians, Natives readily accept our standard of morality, but cases of fornication are very frequent amongst converts, so much so that this has been rightly called the African sin! I mention this fact, but I must say on the other hand that thousands of pupils in our Native Institutions lead a very moral and continent life and do not seem to find any great difficulty in doing so.

839 If the gangisa spoils the whole life of the young heathen, it is
177 only just to add that they do not practise two vices which are prevalent amongst certain civilised nations, onanism and sodomy. These immoral customs were entirely unknown in the Thonga tribe before the coming of civilisation. Unhappily it is no longer so now, as we shall see in Appendix III on unnatural vice in Johannesburg.

836 Comparing the habits of the Pedis and the Thongas we observe
837 this strange fact : amongst the Thongas the unmarried girl is

1 [See p. 517 in these categories or in 116 -- Analysis]

836 837 quite free and the married woman is taboo. Amongst the Pedis it is just the reverse ; girls are absolutely prohibited from having any sexual relation before their marriage and, on the contrary, after marriage a woman who has had children can have intercourse with other men than her husband. I shall try to explain this difference when dealing with Pedi customs. (Part II. Chap. I. G.)

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000 In his book on Kafir Socialism, Dudley Kidd has laid great stress on the fact that the mental development of the African Native is arrested at the time of puberty, and has tried to find remedies for this inferiority. It may be said that the vivacity of mind, the rapidity of comprehension, which is sometimes wonderful amongst the younger boys, decreases when they reach the age of fifteen or sixteen. Cases can even be recorded amongst them of an arrest or slackening in the development of the psychical faculties at the period of puberty. But this is by no means the rule. In all our Institutions we have pupils who show great zeal for study and increased intellectual power between sixteen and twenty. I may say that Dr Mac Vicar of Lovedale concluded as I do, that this assertion of D. Kidd is very much exaggerated.

D. MARRIAGE

582 [178] According to the old Thonga idea it was only when a boy was fully grown that he could think of marriage. In former times lads used to enjoy their youth in carelessness and pleasure, going to dance in all the villages, till they were twenty five years old. Nowadays boys marry very early. Money to lobola is obtained more readily and " gangisa " is not as easy as it used to be, two reasons which have advanced the marriage age in the present generation.

789 761 "*ringela bowumba*," from the verb ringa, to try ; it is the attempt to bring some influence to bear on the misfortune of the bereaved mother.)

9) Adultery.

837 395 Amongst the Thongas *true* adultery for a *man*, married or unmarried (bumbuye), consists in committing sin with a married woman. Should he have relations with a girl, it leads to no consequences at all. Nobody will blame him, if the girl does not conceive. Should she have a child, he will only be forced to marry her ; she will become his second wife. His first wife will not at all resent his bad conduct. Sometimes she will herself get him the girl he wants. There is nothing in her heart like the jealous dignity of a European spouse! She will keep all her capacity for jealousy (bukwele) for the time when the second wife comes to the village, and shares with her the affection of their common husband. Adultery with an unmarried woman is nothing more than "gangisa."

837 684 692 But should a man have abducted a *married woman*, a woman who has a master (ñwinyi), who has been paid for, then the matter becomes very serious. The husband is very skilful at discovering her misdoing. As soon as he begins to have doubts about the fidelity of his wife, he chooses a friend and asks him to watch her. She is very cunning, her lover also ; but the friend is on the watch and some time perhaps, catches them in the bush, when she goes to gather fuel, or near the pool, where she draws her water. He comes back to the husband and informs him that he has caught them in the very act. Then the husband tells his wife that proof has been obtained and that she had better go at once to her lover and take something from his hut ; she obeys, and comes back with his blanket or any other object. This is "la pièce à conviction." The husband goes with it to the counsellor who is in charge of his village ; together they apply to the chief. The chief sends the counsellor who is responsible for the village of the lover to summon him. The confrontation takes place and the story of the case is investigated.

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

837 684 692 The woman is questioned, and confesses when, where, and how many times he has sinned with her. If he denies this, the object taken from the hut is exhibited. The adulterer is condemned by the chief to pay a *whole lobolo*, £ 15 to £ 20, as much as is necessary to buy a wife. He is rebuked before the whole assembly. "If you had taken a girl, it would not have mattered at all. Why did you abduct a married woman ? Do you not know that it breeds endless trouble at court (tindaba) ?"

The counsellor of the deceived husband goes to the counsellor of the lover to claim the money. The latter must go to the guilty man. The parents of the adulterer insult their son : "You see! All this money lost now! If only you had lobola a wife with it!" They must help him to find it at once, because this is a law universally recognised : the price of adultery must be forthcoming. (Nandju wa bumbuye a wu pfumali). The poor man will have to pay ; he will even have to add a hoe to "drive away" (hlongola) the counsellor, who keeps it for his reward!

837 684 783 753 608 Why is adultery so strongly prohibited and punished ? Not at all from any moral consideration of purity or chastity, but for two other reasons. First a social one. Adultery with a married woman is a theft, because she is owned by a master. She is not punished herself, except when the watcher finds her out and gives himself the pleasure of thrashing her to his heart's content. The whole punishment falls on the man ; he is the thief. But there is also a physical reason for it : the *matlulana*! We have already met with this word. *Tlulana* means to jump over each other, to compete with each other. In the sexual domain it is said of two men who have relations with the same woman. "They have met [826] together in one life through the blood of that woman ; they have drunk from the same pool" (Viguet). This establishes between them a most curious mutual dependence : should one of them be ill, the other must not visit him ; the patient might die. If he runs a thorn into his foot, the other must not help him to extract it ; it is taboo ; the wound would not heal. If he dies, his rival must not be present at his mourning or he would himself die (See page 137). Should he even be the actual son (sometimes it happens that a son commits adultery with one of the younger wives

837 of his father, which is considered as *biha*, very bad), he must not
684 take any part in the burial, though he might be the regular "master
783 of the mourning." Relatives will drive him away because they
578 have pity on him, they know what misfortune threatens him. It is
182 a terrible taboo! There are medicines to remove this contamin-
626 ation ; the *yila* is removed by them, but the *biha* (bad action)
753 remains! However in the case of the disease called *mpondjo*, (which I believe to be the lupus), medicines are of no avail ; should a man visit his rival, who is suffering from it, he will die. We have also seen the terrible complications which are believed to take place at the birth of children, when there has been a question of adultery. (P. 40.)

836 These great taboos show that there is a deep feeling amongst the Thongas that promiscuity of any kind is a bad and a dangerous thing. Even in the case of *gangisa*, boys are censured when two of them court the same girl.

10) Divorce.

586 Adultery is one of the causes of divorce. The guilty woman, instead of obeying her legitimate husband and helping him to get his compensation, may choose to go to her lover and live with him. This leads to an immediate divorce. The husband goes to the parents of the unfaithful wife and claims his lobolo. They have perhaps no money to give. However they will try to get it as soon as possible, even if it is by the dissolution of the marriage of their own son ; they will perhaps send back his young wife to her parents and claim the lobolo paid for her, in order to meet the claim of the angry husband (See Part II). It would seem easier to go to the thief and claim from him the lobola for the adulteress whom he has stolen (tlhuba). But a thief is not a reliable man! If he has stolen, it proves that he had nothing (1). (See Appendix VIII.)

Divorce frequently takes place for more trivial reasons, for

548 (1) Women of low morals are called in Ronga *gwababasa*, prostitute. There are plenty of them all round Lourenço Marques, where morality has sunk to a very low level ; but this is the result of degeneration.

604 with his friends. The malume comes back and is angry. But when he hears that the trick has been played by his mupsyana, he shrugs his shoulders and says : "Oh it is all right if it is the ntukulu who has done it ! A shi biwi ntukulu! The nephew must never be beaten!" When another day the nephew comes again, the malume says : "You starved us to death the other day!" — "Is there any more food handy that I may do it again ?" answers the boy. The sons of the malume seem to have
605 less patience with their cousin than their father has. When the cousin goes definitely beyond the limits of their endurance, they will chase him out of the village saying : "Go away, you dog!" The niece is sometimes as troublesome as the nephew. If she is married and pays a visit to her malume with her husband, she will leave the latter comfortably settled in the malume's hut and search the whole village to discover pots of beer, which she will bring to him as if she were the mistress of the home. She may even catch a fowl and give it to him.

604 Sometimes the malume himself points to one of his wives and
837 says to the ntukulu : "This is your wife. Let her feast you
587 well!" The woman much enjoys the situation, which she finds quite entertaining. She makes a feast for the ntukulu and calls him *nkata*, husband. It will sometimes go so far that the nephew will say to the uncle : "Please make haste and die that I may have your wife!" — "Do you intend to kill me with a gun ?" says the malume... But all this talking is a mere joke. The nephew can take many liberties with this aunt, especially in the Ronga clans. He will never however have relations with her during the life of her husband. Should he do so, he will have to pay the high fine due for a true adultery. Possibly he will inherit her when the malume dies, but she will not be his full property : she will only be given (nyika) to him, and the children will eventually belong to the malume's male relatives. All over the tribe this right of inheriting a malume's wife is recognized. In the Northern clans she is called *kokwana* ; in Ronga territory she is called kokwana by her nieces only, but her nephews call her *nsati* (wife), and this term seems also to be an old feature of the relationship system. This relation of malume and mupsyana is so important

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I. *Original promiscuity.*

582 As regards the idea that promiscuity prevailed originally—a supposition which is combated by some scientists (see W. H. R. Rivers, "On the origin of the classificatory system of relationship," Anthropological Essays), I see no trace of it amongst the Thongas. Amongst the Pedis, there is one day when free intercourse is allowed all through the clans ; it is the closing day of the second circumcision school. But this custom can be explained on a totally different basis.

II. *Group marriage.*

178 582 595 837 As regards *group marriage*, we may see a remnant of the system in the fact that a man has a special preferential right to certain women of his wife's family, the tinamu. His son will also consider it peculiarly appropriate to take a wife from his mother's clan, the one into which his father married.

The tinamu custom might be explained in that way. There is however a very marked difference between the group-marriage system and the Thonga family law. Amongst Australian aborigenes, whilst a man of a group has the right of marrying all the women of the other group, a woman of the other group has the same right to marry all the men of the first. Amongst the Thongas it is absolutely taboo for a married woman to have relations with anybody except her own husband. Polygamy exists and is approved of, but polyandry is strongly censured and considered a disgusting custom. The main reason for this is no doubt the *matlulana* superstition, which bears all the character of a very ancient idea in the Thonga system. The story of P. K. which I relate in Appendix IV, will show how deeply the sin of polyandry is felt (1).

(1) It is true that the Ba-Pedi who are neighbours of the Thongas, have a kind of polyandry (See page 99). But this has nothing to do with group marriage, and the wives of a rich man whom he allows to have intercourse with other men, choose their lovers as they like and not according to a law of preferential right binding two groups.

681 When goats have damaged somebody's garden, there is no
685 fine to pay. The shepherds are whipped and the matter is
643 thus concluded. Should the father of the boys, however, take their part and protect them with his weapons, he will be summoned to the tribunal of the chief and have to pay a fine of £ 5 or two or three goats.

643 Thonga Natives who have but a few head of cattle, are
231 accustomed to entrust them to the care of neighbours possessing
686 a large herd, in order to spare themselves the trouble of finding herding boys. There are some laws regulating this matter. If the owner of the cow, or the pig, or the goat, gives money in advance to the master of the large herd, all the calves, pigs, and kids, which may be born revert to him. But if he has not paid anything, the master of the herd is entitled to choose one pig out of the first litter ; or he can keep the third or fourth calf or kid. If it be a hen, one of its chickens will belong to the man who took care of it. Should the owner forget to remit the due reward, there will be trouble (pongwe). When he goes to take his cattle back, the master of the herd will keep one head for himself, and, if a dispute arises, both will go to the chief, at least if the matter is important, if the animal in question, for instance, is an ox.

If an ox incorporated with another man's herd dies, the master of the herd will inform the owner in order that he may go and dispose of the meat. Should he be living too far off, the ox will be eaten on the spot and the skin will be sent to the owner.
231 Suppose the master of the herd pretends that the ox is dead, but
685 has only put it with another herd, and sent a skin to the owner to deceive him, it is a case of theft, which will be judged as such.

3) Criminal cases.

684 *Adultery*. Our tribe punishes adultery very severely indeed,
787 at least when the woman is married. The fine is a full lobolo.
(See page 197.) Amongst the Nkunas if the accused man denies
837 his guilt when questioned indoors, the bones are consulted, or even the magicians who practise the "[illegible]nisa" divination. (Part

marginal period during which the maphisa must use protective medicines against the dangers of the bush, and keep certain rules. 224 784

As a protection they carry their charms, especially the *ndjao*, the root of a certain juncus which is used on many other occasions. As regards the taboos which they must observe, I will first mention those applying to travellers in general, especially the *salt taboo* (I. p. 339). Should they take salt with them, this would "precede them" (rangela), and they would kill no game. It will be soon enough to look for salt when they have killed. But the great taboo of these hunting trips is the *sexual taboo*. This was already imposed before starting and it must be observed Phroughout the expedition. The necessity of avoiding anything connected with sexual relations is so great that maphisa will take with them to cook their food little boys under marriageable age. What is the reason of this prohibition? I have explained it in dealing with the Thonga idea of sexual relations (I. p. 189). If the hunters transgress the law, the big animals will be so wild that it will be impossible to approach them ; they will furiously attack the men who have sinned, because they know them, and woe upon them! So much so that if the hunters see an elephant or a hippopotamus in obstinate pursuit of one of their number, they will begin to insult him for having spoilt the whole trip by his misbehaviour, and send him home. 224 784 834 825

The law of continence is also binding on *the hunters' wives* at home. It is true that when the absence of their husbands is prolonged for a very long time they may become unfaithful to them and the men, on their return, will find babies waiting for them which are not their true children. This will cause them no unhappiness, as these babies none the less belong to them, their wives having been duly bought, and the time for fear is now passed, as they have returned home safely. The fact that these men welcome the children born during their absence caused me to think that hunters' wives were not subject to the sexual taboo as their husbands are. But further inquiry has shown that this is not true. Old Makhani assured me that incontinence on the part of the wife at home would have as a consequence that the husband would be attacked and killed by wild beasts far away in the desert. 224 784 837 851 752